

II. MAJOR SALIENCE QUESTION.

The most important thing the Americans should know is that the Hungarian people wanted to drive the Russians out and to regain their freedom.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION:

(Respondent lived at Búrcs, and went to work every day to Moson, some 30 miles from there.-Interviewer.)

October 24.

After telling of the events in Budapest, Radio Budapest ceased to broadcast between 7 and 8 A.M. I heard the news at a railway station when I was going by train to work at Moson.

In the machine repair factory, everybody everybody was listening to the news, in his office or work-place. The atmosphere became very tense. The foreman came in and chased the workers away from the radio. In the afternoon, we put in a loudspeaker, but were not allowed to use it. I remember Nagy Imre made a speech.

When I came out of the factory, I saw buses loaded with green AVO-s going up to Budapest. I took the train for Győr. The railway employees had no more stars on their cap, and spread the news from the capital. I arrived at Győr at 6 P.M. and saw that the monument to the Russian soldiers, in front of the railway station, was damaged. The streets were filled with people. I heard shooting and saw a wounded man being taken to the hospital. I heard that a young girl had been killed when the crowd attacked the prison, while she was distributing weapons to the people from an over-turned AVO truck. Many prisoners were freed.

10 P.M. The crowd was busy destroying Communist posters when some 16 Russian tanks, with two armored cars and infantry in trucks entered the city. They didn't fire but blocked the streets. These troops were stationed in Győr. First they were unable to disperse the crowd. They came out of their tanks, and the people spat at them and threw litter at them. Nobody was afraid. Some people, including a woman, put their chest against the Russians' bayonets and shouted them to shoot. The Russians didn't dare to. Some people climbed on the tanks, and when a nervous Russian soldier aimed his gun at them, his officer stopped him. This lasted till 1 A.M.

Some Hungarian army officers were sent out to calm the people and to make a diversion, but they were unsuccessful. The workers of Győr decided to strike the next day until the Russians go out. I went back to Böres with many leaflets containing demands similar to those made in Budapest. I scattered the leaflets at Böres when I arrived.

October 25.

On that day, I ~~wasn't~~ didn't go to the factory, but to my former workshop at Ovar (2 miles from Moson). The district-court had asked the workers to take down the huge red star on the building. The workers began to work. The huge crowd had gathered, sang and recited poems. The prison was near the court-house. The people broke in, freed all the prisoners, including the thieves, with one exception. They found there a notorious Communist who was beaten up and ~~is~~ put back into jail. I learned that on the day before, the students of the academy of agriculture had started a silent demonstration, with ~~many~~ national cocards.

Around 10-11 A.M. the crowd parted. The first group, with which I went, went toward Moson and wanted to take the radio station there. The other group, which included many students wanted to get the workers of the alum earth factory, who were not allowed to come out. They had to pass before the barracks of the green AVG-s, (There were maybe 2 blue AVG-s at Moson), a 3-story building.

Five secret policemen with machine pistols standing on the road opened fire on the crowd. At the same time, ~~other~~ AVG-s began to shoot from the windows of the barracks, and threw down hand-grenades. This lasted about 5 minutes. Some 50-60 people were killed on the spot. Many others were seriously wounded. When our group heard the shooting, we ran back to Ovar. Trucks were carrying the wounded and the dead to the hospital. Even the AVG-s helped. The people wanted to get arms in order to take revenge. But the regular police didn't give them any.

Only ten to twenty people were slightly wounded, the others had very serious injuries, mostly in the legs. There were so many of them that the doctors in the hospital didn't know what to do. Many wounded died in the corridors. Later the wounded were taken to Győr and the people there knew of the events. It was noon. It began to rain and most of the people went home. I did likewise.

I returned to Ovar at 3 P.M. Several trucks from Győr arrived loaded with armed soldiers and civilians. They had also heavy weapons and hand-grenades. They went first to the police headquarters which displayed the white flag. The detectives were herded in the yard, and the people took all the weapons. I got a pistol there. Then we went to the AVO barracks. An army unit was stationed nearby. The officers said they couldn't help because they had no orders. The people decided to storm the place, took it without any resistance, and picked up the soldiers' weapons.

The AVO barrack was surrounded. We learned that the man who ordered the massacre of the morning, a certain Dudas, had escaped, but he was caught at Rajka and brought back to Ovar. The AVO-s didn't resist. Two AVO officers were beaten to death. One who was taken to the hospital was hanged the next day on a tree together with Dudas. The people took everything which was in the barracks, weapons, cars, etc.

After October 26, a national council was formed which began to organize the national guards. The AVO soldiers went home. More weapons were distributed. I didn't work any more, but went every day to Győr where everybody was following the events in Budapest. The Russians had gone out of the city with their families, and stayed in the nearby woods. They didn't show themselves any more until November 4.

A) During the manifestations, I thought no repression would follow. The crowd was so enthusiastic and united. Everybody felt free.

The demonstrators included everybody, workers and peasants, old and young, children and women. It was a collective and spontaneous manifestation.

First everybody became enthusiastic about Imre Nagy. Later, when things got worse in Budapest, we began to distrust him, until the situation became normal again.

I wanted the Russians to leave, free elections with several parties. I was sure we would succeed.

The demonstrators had no leaders, no one could have lead the people, not even an angel, in the state of anger they were!

I thought Gerő called the Russian troops, but we learned it from Imre Nagy and this confused us. Later we learned that Nagy was forced at pistol point to to decree the state of siege.

The various political parties began to be reorganized. In Győr, a kind of government was set up, the army and the parties first worked independently from Budapest, later joined the central organs. The most active parties were the Smallholders, the Social Democrats and the Peasant Party. On November 3, a delegate of the Smallholders' party came to B-ros and asked my father to try to organize the party there.

The Re-invasion.

On November 3, we saw Russian tanks going toward the Austrian border, occupying bridges and cross-roads. At 5 A.M. on November 4, we heard Imre Nagy's speech on the radio and were filled with despair and bitterness. Nobody could eat the whole day. We kept listening to RFE. At noon, a friend of ours came from Győr and told us that all the highways and roads were occupied by the Russians. He told us that it was "now or never". I joined him and we went on foot to the border, marching some 50 miles, and crossed during the night. My parents and brothers crossed the next day.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST

Many people hoped for some kind of assistance from the West, that is weapons, especially bazookas from the US. I met a few young Hungarians who came from Austria to fight with us.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Own family background.

My father was a peasant who before the war owned some 200 acres of land. 50 were his, the rest belonged to his sister and to his wife. After 1948, because of the heavy taxes, only 30 acres were left to him. This was reduced last year to 17 acres last year. He was branded a kulak.

My father finished secondary school, my mother finished 4 years in public school.

B. I don't see any social classes today in Hungary. The Communists kept proclaiming the struggle of classes against the kulaks, the former officers, etc. All the people were in the same situation. One could divide them as Communists and non-Communists.

By profession, there were the peasants, the workers, the office employees, the intelligentsia (engineers, etc.). The Communists enjoyed many advantages, especially the top leaders, the AVG officers and the Party secretaries.

(2)

I knew better the peasantry, than the former small craftsmen and the workers. As for the intelligentsia, I knew only two engineers.

(3)

The peasantry.- They are diligent, even when they don't know why they work.

The workers.- More refined, they work only if immediately paid. Otherwise they loaf around the factories.

(4)

I belong to the peasantry.

2. Reaction of different classes to Communism.

The peasants did react the less to Communism. Communism found more echoes among the workers. As for the intellectuals, they all had to follow the current if they wanted to keep their jobs.

The peasants didn't like the compulsory deliveries system and the taxes. They couldn't live decently, had to work like horses, and to queue for bread with the workers. They also had a little more sense, because they are always out by themselves, and are not organized. The peasants' reactions are usually slow.

During the revolution, when the national council was formed, some 13 peasant delegates ~~WERE~~ were called in. An agitator from Budapest told the council that Attila Szigetfi was a Communist and that one should ask for help from the West. Everybody became very enthusiastic about him. Only one old peasant said that one didn't even know who that man was and that in his opinion, he was an impostor. The peasant

was almost beaten up. Later on, the agitator turned out to be an AVO agent sent to Győr in order to disorganize the people.

The peasants didn't like the Communist meetings, and the regime never succeeded in educating them. In 1945, everybody received land. Later the land lost all its value and became a burden. Everybody wanted to get rid of it. Some peasants had land, but couldn't feed their animals, because the state took all the fodder from them.

Workers. The state was assuring the workers' living. Thus it could force them to attend meetings and to do things for money. Most of the workers had to play a two-faced game in order to assure their interests.

The intellectuals were silenced, and many did physical work. My father knew two pre-war judges at Győr who stayed in their jobs but were helpless. Those who wrote in the papers sold themselves. Later they recognized this. They formed a worthless group.

The peasantry was the hardest hit by Communism, with the taxes and the compulsory deliveries.

C. The people lived together and helped each other. There were not too many differences between them. Some workers complained that some peasants could still sell products for higher prices. But the workers who lived in the country and owned also land were better off than the peasants themselves.

E. In order to go ahead, one had to have a big mug and to know what to say at the right time. To be a two-faced man who knows how to denounce others, to be of proletarian origin, and to be a communist. Talent didn't count.

F. The Communists, but not all of them, enjoyed privileges. All roads were opened to them, up to the highest positions, even if they were ~~stupid~~ stupid.

VI: FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. Communism affected family life from the religious point of view. Communism tried to replace religion by its own ideology. But it didn't succeed in loosening the family. Maybe it even brought the members closer together as they all had to work in order to assure their living.

While the workers in the cities went after entertainment, the peasants stayed home, went more often to church and had more respect for the priests.

B. Yes, Communism changed the way children are brought up in Hungary. Religion was absent from their education. Also the child often had to work at the age of 14. Maybe this was the reason why they could never make good communists out of them.

Children obey less than before. The school is taking more of the role of the parents. The child could not be punished physically at school, and said that he and not the teacher was right. If a teacher hit a pupil, the parents could denounce him to the AVG.

The areas of disobedience depend on the family. The Communists affected less the family life of those who lived in the country. As I have never been in my life in Budapest, I don't know the situation there. But I presume that some Communist parents did not like religious instruction and physical punishment.

C. Marriage, courtship and sex patterns.

1.

In the country, the courtship pattern didn't change. Most people got married in the church, only a few didn't by fear of losing their job. Differences of religion between spouses became less important. Kulaks' daughters were avoided by those men who were worried about their cadre file. In fact, some lost their job when they married such a girl.

Young people met at fairs and dances. From the moral point of view, the situation was not very good. My parents told me it was much better before Communism. The reason was that the future was aimless and without any perspective. This situation led also to more divorces.

2. I don't know if there was any prostitution in Hungary...
(The respondent didn't even know this word!-Interviewer.)

3. The government didn't discuss sexual matters.

D. Effect of Communism on friendship.

1. One would make friends only with those who would not denounce us for anything one said. People were very cautious in their relations.
2. This depends on the motives he had to enter the Party. If this was not necessary, I wouldn't consider him any more as my friend and I would break the friendship. I don't think one could have continued such a friendship keeping politics out of it, because politics would have come out in any topic of discussion.

E. Crime and alcoholism.

K.1. Embezzlements were flourishing. It was not even considered as a crime, because everything belonged to the state, which was the biggest thief of all.

The police didn't do a thing about this, and was completely unsuccessful. They went out with dogs, searched for days and closed the case.

2. Drinking increased very much, especially among the young people. For them, life was aimless, and they forgot about it with liquors and bad wines. The older people drank in order to drown their sorrow.

3. The hooligans were the so-called "jampec" who wore rubber-sole shoes, Western ties with cowboy motives and tight trousers, and their hair coming down on their neck. I didn't like them. Most of them were swindlers. There were many of them in Budapest, and also some in the country.

The people laughed at them. They were not dangerous, but insolent. The government tried to use normal means to cope with this problem, but it exaggerated when it called them reactionaries and agents of the West. They were young people from 17 to 24, mostly young workers who were too lazy to work. The parents couldn't do much about them.

VII. RELIGION

A. Effect of Communism on religious life in Hungary.

Religion was less visible in its external and public manifestations than before. It was restricted to the family life, and to going to church on Sunday.

The communists dissolved the religious orders, leaving alone the priests and curates. In 1951, the Benedictine order got back its schools. That year, I could not go to any school because my father owned 30 acres of land and a tractor. I was admitted to the benedictines' school in Győr. They had many pupils. These priests tried to give us a better education. In the whole history book, they ~~were~~ underlined only a few sentences which were correct, and taught us the rest themselves. They were not afraid of telling their opinions. For ex. the priest who taught us Russian had been a prisoner of war in Russia and he knew a great deal.

/for 4 years/

The communists threatened those who went to school or fired them. Two priests were arrested in our school while I was studying there.

The Catholic Church was hardest hit. The other churches gave in much earlier. But many bishops were also frightened, though they had no family to fear for.

The communists organized the peace priests. We knew that these priests weren't communists, but we did not consider them as priests. In the villages, everybody knew everybody.

In our village, the Protestants also went always to church despite the communists' unfavorable opinion.

No Jews lived around us. I knew one Jewish family in Győr which was very religious. They always ate kosher food and never worked on Saturday.

B. Religion plays an important part in my life, I presume I'am more religious than the average people in Hungary. I believe in a future world and was not afraid to go to church.

C. Relation between church and state.

1.

The church should do its own work independently from the state. The state should give the church complete freedom for teaching its doctrine and principles, and should support it materially, especially the schools.

Religious schools should be allowed to function. Religious instruction is important for a good moral education.

2. This responsibility should not be too wide, but the immoral books should be put on the index. However, what is forbidden becomes mysterious and attracts the people.

3. The state should be completely independent from politics. The politicians' game is never clean. This is in opposition with the tasks of the priests, and of the churches.

D. I don't know many Jews. In general, the opinion about them was not good because from Rakosi down all the way of the Party apparatus, everybody was Jewish. They made their career with Communism. Only a few of them were religious and were liked. Many AVG officers were Jews and they liked to torture the people. A Jewish woman was a spy for the secret police.

In Austria, I saw that they got everything they asked for. ~~They~~ Most of them had a good time in Hungary, and have the same here.

They are not afraid of an independent Hungary. ~~They~~ They found their way in any regime, and they'll be in the saddle again. Only the big communists among them are afraid.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. By Hungarian youth I mean the secondary schools and university students, the young workers, peasants and intellectuals, from the age of 15 up to 25.

B. Role during the revolution.

The role of the Hungarian youth was to have organized the MEFESZ. The revolution followed their demonstration. But they didn't lead the revolution. Everybody participated in the demonstrations and in the fighting, young and older people alike.

The youth role can be explained by the fact that it is more extremist ~~xxx~~ in everything than the older people. A revolution is one of these extremes. Youth had no future under Communism. Most revolutions were initiated by youth.

The older people followed the youth, and have them their support wherever they could. The young people were pleased, naturally.

C. Schools and educational system in Hungary.

Under Communism, the level of the education was lowered. There were too many stupid school-books with false theories and arguments. No other foreign language but Russian was taught. The doctors had to learn latin at the university.

There were many poor teachers in the public schools, a few of them fanatical communists. The latter told my class-mates to throw me out because I was a kulak's son. The good teachers were almost all older teachers who had taught before Communism. The new ones had no adequate formation and often couldn't answer our questions.

In 1954, 60 students graduated from the Benedictines' school. Only 9 were admitted to university; two had excellent notes, and the rest had protection. Were excluded from the universities the children of non-proletarian origin and the children of kulaks. Those who were admitted were sons of workers and the professional graduates, who studied at evening courses and those whose parents were CP members.

The choice of vocation was restricted. The various technical schools all had quotas, and they wouldn't take more students than the prescribed number.

E. The communists devoted much time and effort to indoctrinate the younger generation. In every school, they held many ideological speeches, at meetings and celebrations. They spent a lot of money on ideological propaganda.

They failed to indoctrinate the youth because the parents told ~~xxx~~ something different to their children, and because the youth was not stupid and saw what was wrong in Communism. Youth never accepted Communism. However, ~~xxx~~ some young people would simulate in order to make a career. When such a chance was offered, they would play a double game. They didn't accept Communism, but took advantage of it.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. Respondent's main dissatisfactions.

I was dissatisfied because I couldn't continue my studies and because they ruined my father's farm. I had to work every summer and had to pay all the money in taxes. During all that time I could buy one single suit. I tried twice to enter the academy of agriculture at Ovar, and was refused because of my origin. At the same time they would admit people who didn't know a thing about agriculture.

B. Main complaints of the people.

The low wages and the shortages of food.

I. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Standard of living.

1. Respondent's family.

We were six persons living in our house: my parents, my two brothers and I and our aunt. My younger brother went to school. I earned 1,400 forints a month as an electrician. My older brother helped my father on the farm with my mother and my aunt.

a) Food. We had most of the food at home. But our situation was exceptional. He made the deliveries, reduced the expenses to a minimum (for ex. we didn't hire helpers). My mother raised chicken, etc.

b) Clothing. was scarce. I had two suits for my two years of gymnasium. But ~~the~~ the peasants doesn't need too many clothes.

The payment of the taxes caused us the most difficulty. Also the deliveries. Sometimes we had to give 21 quintals of meat, and had nothing left for ourselves. Then we had to buy everything. For ex. for 1,5 acre the delivery was 120 lb of wheat. The state paid 60 forints for a quintal. But it paid nothing for part of the wheat, as it was considered a tax.

I would consider a luxury a motorcycle which cost between 14,000 and 25,000 forints. I always wanted to buy one, and was never able to do so. In order to buy one, the peasants had to ~~give~~ give in addition 15 quintals of corn.

(4) Our standard of living went down. ~~xxxx~~ Before 1945, my father could hire helpers and send us in good schools where the instruction was expensive. Our situation was very good, there was always food enough and no queueing. Everybody was free to do as he pleased.

(5) 1951-52 were the worse years. The kulaks were persecuted and had hardly something to eat. The peasants produced 30-40 quintals of wheat and had to queue for bread, a bread which was filthy, brown and uneatable.

2. I didn't know any family who was better off than any other.

3. What accounts for the standard of living? The Russians took away everything for pennies. They paid for ex. 60 filler-s for a quintal of coal. If the Russians would not have exploited the country, the situation would have been much better. Our leaders were chess figures who had to give out what the Russians asked for.

B. Our whole income from the deliveries was was enough to pay the taxes for 2 or 3 months only. For ex. when our income was 3,000 forints, we had to pay 10,000 forints in taxes. These figures were fixed every moth. The rest of the money had to be found. My father did some carriage. I put my own pay into our family budget. We never could sell anything on the free ~~xxxx~~ market. We rather had to buy sometimes things like corn and potatoes! 5% was deducted from my pay.

During the ~~fixx~~ last five years, our situation was always the same: bad. In the fall of 1956, just before therevolution, the state took also the corn, in addition to the other deliveries.

C. Retail prices.

The quality and the price were about the same in the state stores and on the free market. The people preferred to give their money to the peasant rather than to the state. The peasant couldn't sell cheaper, because this would have been "unfair competition" to the state, and was severely punished. The state store was not interested in selling; when the store was empty, the employees had less work to do, and their salaries were fix anyway.

2. The quality of the goods was not always good. Ex. when there was no flour, bread was made with barley, or ~~xxxxxxx~~ when the baker was forced to reach a certain norm, he ruined the bread. 2 lbs. cost 1,60 fo.

3. The consumers were frequently not supplied adequately. The wheat was taken to the trains, and transported to Budapest or abroad, we didn't know where. And we didn't know whether what was in the stores was Hungarian or not. All our best wheat and meat went to the Soviet Union.

4. We were especially short of meat and lard. There was no butter and no rice.

5. Meat and lard were often unavailable or too expensive.

6. The Black-market.

(Börcs is a small village of 1,000 inhabitants). The whole council and the police did black-marketing. Meat was rare in the village. When calves were born, the peasants went to the council chairman and asked him permission to kill an animal or more. They gave a piece of meat to the chairman, another to the police and could keep the rest for themselves. This way both the peasants and the communist functionaries could eat some meat.

When a complaint went to the police it would simply disappear. Once a woman denounced the whole group, and inspectors came out. They couldn't jail the council chairman, because he was a Part member, neither could they arrest the police. They dismissed the chairman, who became later president of the local collective farm. After that, we had no more meat to eat.

If caught, one was severely punished. The jails were filled with butchers. The sentence depended on the individual. A kulak could be imprisoned for as much as 15 years as he was an "enemy".

Spare parts. It was hardly possible to find any. It took one year to be able to get a bicycle chain. The general situation was one of shortage.

Spoilage of food. In the collective farms, I saw workers wasting much food and bread: what they didn't eat, they threw it to the ground. The produce always got spoiled. There were no warehouses where the wheat could have been kept dry, because they didn't build anything. They left the wheat out in sacks for weeks and it got rotten. When it rained they didn't cover it. In brief, they didn't care at all.

D. Working conditions.

1. Respondent's working day, co-workers and superiors.

I worked for some 3 months at Moson as an electrician in a factory which repaired motors.

I worked 9 hours per day, only 6 on Saturday, i.e. 51 hours weekly. I had a half-hour for lunch, worked from 8 A.M. till 5 P.M. It took me 2 hours each way to travel from my home village to Moson.

I chose to be an electrician because this job was well paid. But I was interested in radios, and was never allowed to touch any. Our factory, which employed about 300 workers, was a branch of the Kuhne plant at Moson which manufactured combines.

My relations with my co-workers were good. We were not too much satisfied with our superiors, but our foreman was quite decent. In addition, he was competent in his field.

(6) I was not satisfied with my pay. Also the material was bad.

2. My fellow-workers did their work well in general. But without the norm system the quality could have been better. Those who worked better got a paper of thanks, and sometimes a little money to maintain their enthusiasm.

3. Vacation, health, compensation.

Most of the workers who were Party members were sent on vacations. As for me, even if I would have stayed 20 years in the factory, I would not have been sent anywhere.

The sickness insurance was not so bad, it was cheap though it didn't always function perfectly. It was paid in my case by the factory.

The pension system was very bad. All those who served the former regime were left in complete misery, with pensions of 200-300 forint a month, or were simply deprived of it. The state didn't need the old people because it couldn't use them.

E. Country life and agriculture.

1. I would prefer to live in the country. I was raised and spent my whole life there.

The best situation was in Budapest (the railway men all went to Budapest to buy lard), then in the country, and finally in the small towns.

The higher general standard of living was in Budapest.

It was easier politically in the country. The Communists couldn't force the peasants to attend political lectures and seminars. But there were many spies in the country who were feared.

2. As for the results of collectivisation, everybody feared an economic chaos for the whole country. The kolkhozes went bankrupt, they didn't yield produces enough. Those who couldn't survive as individual farmers had no other choice than to join a collective farm. Taxes accumulated, the furniture was taken away. The Communists planned this deliberately, and within a few years, the farmer was forced to join.

Collectivization was opposed most strongly by those who were ~~xxxxxxx~~ forced into joining. As for the kulaks, they were not accepted in the kolхозes:

In 1956 a collective farm was created at Böres by ten characters who never liked to work in their life, and who had no animals, just a few acres of land. They thought to do the office and managerial work, and they needed peasants with land and cattle. All the kulaks - including my father - were arrested by the AVO and taken to Győr. They wanted to frighten the other peasants. Some joined, one withdrew later, but the AVO arrested him and "convinced" him to join again.

Later they were 37 with 280 acres of land, and got 10,000 forints worth loan from the state. They bought old cows, ~~xxxx~~ paid 3,000 forints for the animal, but asking a bill for 5,000, so that they could keep the difference. This collective farm still exists today.

(h) At Lébény, the collective dissolved by itself during the revolution, because the ~~xxxxxxx~~ peasants were fed up. Some collective farms, which had good land with good farmers, functioned well, like the one in Sopron which produced grapes, and ~~xxxx~~ yielded huge yearly incomes to the members.

3. If I could free myself from the land, I wouldn't be an agricultural worker in Hungary under Communism. Otherwise, I would always ~~xxxx~~ prefer a private farm.

4. Agriculture system in an independent Hungary.

I would like individual farming, with a limit set for the amount of land one peasant can own (not more than 400 to 650 acres, i.e. 300 to 400 holds). I would like a just taxation and no delivery system. The forests should be distributed, too. The water should be free. A few vitally important farms should be left in the hands of the state, such as animal-breeding farms and grain improvement farms.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Situation before 1948.

1. My father was always a member of the Smallholders' party. When the party dissolved, and from then on, he kept away from active political activities.

My father approved the program of the Smallholders' party. He didn't like the Communists and told us that they will take away the peasants' land. When this happened, we became all depressed in our family.

2. Communism before 1948.

I heard of Bela Kun and of the massacres he ordered in the country. I also knew that afterwards Communists had been killed in Sopron County

B. Communist Party from 1948 on.

1. Among the members of the CP, there are first the old Communists of 1919. Then many former Arrow Crosses (members of the Hungarian Nazi Party), and finally those who joined in order to assure their interests. Very few of them were convinced Communists, and those who were were in many cases mentally ill.

I knew some Party members in the village. Some were completely stupid, and couldn't find their way alone. I can cite here the council chairman, and an army lieutenant with 6 years of elementary school. Some Communists were malevolent and harmed and denounced other people.

Most of them joined in order to remain in their jobs, especially in the factories. In the country-side, the Communists succeeded to mislead some stupid people.

The CP members never expressed publicly their opinion about the Party. Some people waited for years for the Party to fall, and when this didn't happen they joined it by opportunism or because they were forced to do so.

2. Changes in Party policies during the last eight years.

There were no changes in policies, but only of methods. The nature of these changes was tactical. Moscow gave the orders and the top Communist leaders executed them. Imre Nagy was allowed to run a while, then he was withdrawn, like Malenkov in the Soviet Union. The peasants first thought that something would happen, that the deliveries will be suppressed. But they remained cautious because they knew the Communists' tactics. Rakosi said: "You cannot turn chalk into cheese" and attacked again the kulaks.

We knew that there was crumbling in the Party, but we didn't hope that it will disintegrate. Even if Rakosi would have been left alone, the Party would have remained.

3. The Party morale.

The members had to do what the Party told them to do, whether they liked it or not. Often nobody knew the reasons for an order. The so-called Party morale was equivalent to nothing. And those who had it were not normal.

4. Top leaders of the Communist Party, their aims and motives.

They wanted to rule over the country with their ideology, though I think Rakosi was never was a Communist. Maybe he didn't believe in the whole thing. The Soviets gave him asylum and he became their man. These leaders built a huge system and executed their orders like office functionaries. They were deprived of personal initiative. They were all diabolic, maybe, and wanted to acquire material advantages. Imre Nagy was perhaps the only Hungarian among them.

C. Opposition to the Communist Government.

1. There were many manifestations of discontent and dissatisfaction. Everybody complained about the regime. In some cases, it was impossible to resist to the state. But the state couldn't convince the people either, because everybody knew and saw the evils of the regime.

Peasants could fight against the deliveries by bribing the members of the village council. On the other hand, to steal from the state was not considered a sin. Many workers took away tools and materials from the plants, and practically all the managers misappropriated funds.

3. The activities of the intellectuals.

Before the revolution a few articles were published which said things more freely. They contained criticisms for which one year earlier, one would have been jailed. We all heard of the Petöfi Circle on the radio, of the debates which took place there, and of the criticisms which were voiced. We sympathized with the Petöfi Circle. The writers didn't say anything new, but they dared to say what everybody was not able to say.

They played an important role but nobody thought or knew that they were the precursors of a revolution. We just hoped that they would succeed in obtaining some concessions.

What they said was correct, but we had heard other words from them before. In my opinion, they are not quite decent, as they have all served the regime.

4. The regime gave the intellectuals a certain freedom. That went too far and the regime couldn't tolerate it. Very few writers had contacts with the people.

XII: THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The secret police.

1. The members of the secret police were Communists who originated from poor families, with the exception maybe of the top leaders. Those policemen who were drafted into the AVO included many types of men. Those who joined voluntarily were very cruel with their prisoners.

In August, 1956, I made an attempt to cross the border and was caught by the green AVO. They took me to Ovar and questioned me from 3 A.M. till noon. I told them that I only wanted to visit a friend who lived near the border, and finally convinced them so that they freed me. I think I was very lucky in this case.

When my father was taken to Győr by the blue AVO in 1956, he was beaten and they threatened to put out his eyes with a fountain-pen. My brother also was arrested once.

4. It was true that there was constant fear and anxiety in the country. Even the Communists had fears because they didn't know when their turn would come.

5. The informer system and the informers.

The informers and spies were the scum of the earth. At Bőrös there were eight of them. The people knew by hear-say that they were informers. They went to report once a month to the AVO, and to pick up their money, which amounted to 600-800 forints. In addition they also received premiums for special denunciations. They did this filthy job for money and because of their character. We avoided them and never spoke before them.

6. Sometimes one could avoid trouble with the AVO by keeping one's mouth shut. But ~~even~~ for instance ~~xxxxxx~~ even if a kulak ~~xxxx~~ says nothing, he'll have trouble. It is true that many people were arrested for not having kept their mouth shut.

7. No AVO-men fought on the side of the revolution. They were too afraid and went all into hiding.

8. When Hungary becomes independent, they should be all picked up and sent to forced labor.

9. The regular police was not very different from the AVo, especially towards the kulaks. They were all Communists. Those who didn't like to work went into the police. Their work was very unsuccessful. If somebody stole something from a kulak, they simply didn't come out. If the thief was one of their friends, they didn't touch him.

During the revolution, they hid in their holes and trembled with fear. Later they gave arms to the national guards, but they took them back after November 4.

B. The courts.

2. I knew only one case when a gendarme beat up before the war a poor peasant who was fiddling at ~~kk~~ a time this was forbidden. ~~Rxxx~~ The court sentenced the gendarme to two months imprisonment.

3. I believe the People's Court of 1945-47 were more just than the courts which came later in 1949-1950. In 1951, a kulak from Bezi was condemned to death because ten pair of old shoes, 100 quarts of lard and five loaves of bread were found in his possession. He was accused of accumulating goods, and hanged. The goods were exhibited in a store at Győr in order to frighten the people. A teacher from Abda was at a fair when a Russian was beaten up. He was condemned to 8 years imprisonment though he was completely innocent. It was simply impossible for the people to defend themselves.

4. Prisons were the equivalent of forced labor in mines or construction works. Those who were left in the darkness of their cells had a better time.

C. The Hungarian army.

1. I was not drafted, because I went to study as an industrial apprentice after finishing secondary school. I was supposed to be drafted after the revolution, and according to my sister who stayed behind, I have just received my letter of induction!

I only knew that the officers were ~~kkk~~ most stupid people besides being scoundrels. Some couldn't even write! In our village, we had two lieutenants, who were the most stupid people of ~~kkk~~ Büros. I also knew a captain who would hardly write his name. He had a bureaucrat under him to perform all the administrative work. Another captain did nothing else but cursing all day.

The officers didn't live with the soldiers in the barracks, but in town. There was quite a distance between them and their men.

The officers were poor military strategists. Only sons of Communists could become officers. They always had somebody else to do the work for them.

During the revolution, they didn't play any role, in Győr like at Moson. The people had to force their way into their barracks in order to get their arms. When the revolution was victorious, and when the national council was established, the army recognized its authority. The officers didn't sympathize with the revolution. As they had served the regime, they didn't know what to do. The soldiers all sided with the people. On November 4, the army was already disorganized. Many soldiers went home, others were at large, and a few remained in the barracks.

I was not surprised by the army's attitude. We knew that without orders or leadership, the soldiers could not do very much.

D. The Russian Army.

2. To speak of the events of 1847 is absolutely incorrect. The Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1945 when they looted the country. Then they remained to oppress it for more than 10 years. This oppression created much hate.

In 1945 we were glad that they chased away the Germans. But we thought they would stay only temporarily. In our region, they took away the animals, just like the Germans did. But we didn't know yet what was in store for us.

Since 1945, my opinion changed completely. The Soviet soldiers are men who are oppressed just as much as we Hungarians were. I hate the apparatus of power of the Soviet Union, the ~~members~~ members of the Kremlin ~~group~~ group, the officers. But I have no animosity for the Russian nation as such. The Russians may be primitive, but it is not their fault that they don't know the radio or the tooth-paste, and I don't condemn them for that.

before

3. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary ~~during~~ the revolution.

There were Russian troops in Győr. They lived with the people, did trade with them, their children played with Hungarian children. They began to know the real situation in Hungary. When the revolution broke out, they said they wouldn't fire on the Hungarians, because they have been treated well for 10 years they lived among them.

Because of the language barrier, one couldn't talk much with them. Their officers were just like ours, the worse were the political officers. In general, they did not want to go back to Russia, and were pleased to be in Hungary, were they could get everything in their canteens at very cheap prices.

D. They didn't do anything in Győr, but evacuated the city and remained in the woods until November 3. I believe that these troops were ordered back to Russia. When the fresh troops came in, they imprisoned people in Győr and took some of them to the railway station.

5. The answer is "no" to all questions.

6. The answer is no.

E. The bureaucracy.

1. When someone went to an office the functionaries didn't care too much for him. I could mention the council house at Bőrös, the taxation office, the financial office in the cities, and so on. There were too many offices, with incompetent people who couldn't handle the affairs. There were a few former functionaries, ~~xxx~~ the rest was made up of incompetent Communists.

We had lots of trouble with them. We didn't know if we could trust them, and had to go many times to the various offices to have an affair discussed. I didn't know many functionaries who looked out for the people's interests.

2. It was a nice thing ~~xxx~~: never anything did happen to the Communists who practised auto-criticism.

F. Yes, it was possible to get around some of the regulations, for money. But one had to know well the functionary. If they were caught, the kulak would have been punished, but not the Communist functionary.

G. I don't think the various people who held power in Hungary are intelligent in general. Most of them are simply swindlers and bums.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Hungary will be free if the Russians can be driven out, not by the American foreign policy, but because of some internal events in Russia. I don't think that with its present policy the U.S. will succeed in achieving that aim. Other possibility: if a strong unity is created in Europe.

In Hungary, the policy of the past will continue, and nothing will be better.

The West will resist Russian attempts to seize new independent countries in the Far- and Middle-East. The policy of the West will be one of defense.

My hopes are that the Soviet Union will disintegrate and that Hungary will be completely free.

I don't see any other means to achieve this than the internal disintegration. I fear war, but I think that many people behind the Iron Curtain want it if it is the only way to solve the problem. But I don't know of course if there will be such a war...

In Hungary's case, the Russians could have been told that if they don't leave the country, there will be a war. I believe that under such a threat, they would have left Hungary, and also the rest of Eastern Europe.

B. While I was in Hungary we saw many international conferences and hoped that they will end with some results, and that the Russians would withdraw. Our hopes faded away in 1956. We got only a few concessions. According to the changes in Moscow, we were either hopeful, or saw everything in black.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Hungary should develop her agriculture and light industry, but not heavy industry, which has no basis in the country.

B. Articles of first necessity and agricultural machines should be manufactured, while the production of machine-tools should be abandoned.

(3)(a)

I would leave the large plants in the hands of the state and give back their stores to the former owners. I would leave the small industry in the hands of individual craftsmen

(b) The state cooperatives should be distributed to the individuals, The collective farms dissolved unless their basis is voluntary.

b. the role of the government.

The government should direct foreign trade, i.e. to get the materials and to find the markets for our products. The state should regulate the production, but not by force. Heavy and light industry in the state's hands. A limit should be set for the small craftsmen as to the size of their enterprises.

In agriculture the role of the state should be limited. The formation of large estates should be prevented, by setting a limit maximum of 200 to 300 holds. (280 to 420 acres).

2. Form of government.

I want a government with several parties. If had to chose, I would prefer a government which assures my living, but this would not prevent me from missing my freedom and remaining dissatisfied.

I would allow the Communist Party to function. If it is banned, it would perhaps attract more people.

C. An independent Hungary should be a neutral country like Austria. I can also think of the possibility of an economic union with the neighboring countries. I am in favor of cultural and economic relations with all countries, with Russia too, if there is no more Communism there.

3. Some sort of Danubian federation would be a good thing from the military point of view, in order to protect Eastern Europe against the Russians. The independence of each member should be preserved. I would not include the Serbs in such a union.

If the rights of the Hungarian populations are guaranteed, such a federation would meet the favor of many people in Hungary.

4. I don't think Hungary's present boundaries are acceptable. There are many territories populated by Hungarians which were taken away by the neighbor countries. On the other hands, I realize that the millenary borders of Hungary can't be restored.

In any case, a part of Transilvania should be returned to Hungary. This question is important, especially to those Hungarians who are living outside the country's borders. They want first to free themselves from Communism, and then to be reunited with the mother-country.

IV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION:

A.

2. I heard of the secret speech of Khrushchev on RFE.

3. I didn't know anything about McCarthy.

5. I didn't know anything about Rakosi's private life. I was not interested in it.

B. I read the weekly magazine "Life and Science". I didn't read any newspapers except sometimes "Szabad Nep".

I used to read Hungarian classics - Jokai, Gárdonyi -- detective novels, Gogol in translation, a few books on religion and philosophy.

The new books which were published were stupid and uninteresting. Like the newspapers, they were full of lies and falsifications. The best books on the other hand, couldn't be found.

2. I read more when I went to school than when I worked.

The peasants didn't read too much. They liked Jokai's works and fiction stories, because they were entertaining. So did the workers. The city people read more, as they had more free time.

3. In the newspapers, I read only the news concerning foreign policy, in order to compare it with what I heard on the radio. This way I could see how much the Communist press lied.

4. One was not allowed to read some books which were put on index; i.e. the books on religion and philosophy. These books couldn't be found at all, only among friends. The police was often too stupid to know what book was what. I knew a case when such books were found in somebody's home, and resulted in lots of trouble for him. These books were taken out of the libraries and burned. In the benedictines' school, they were packed in cases and hidden in a safe place.

C. I got all kinds of news by word of mouth, from friends and acquaintances. Often they would stop on the street to tell me the news. This news were not too reliable, but there was always a part of truth in them. I also told news the same way to my friends and co-workers.

D. Everybody talked about politics, because the people were interested in them. They talked among them, at home, or in the inn, in the evening. In the circle of the family, or with friends, we always discussed the news.

F. I went once a month to the movies, went one to the theatre in Győr to see the play "Kössivü Ember Fiai" (The Fearless Man's Sons) by Jokai Mór. The movie I liked most was "The Book of the Jungle". I can recall a few good Russian films, and very few from the West.

A. Russia.

1. I see a lot of internal trouble in store for Russia. But when a danger arouses, all the bums will agree again. The people are probably not satisfied with the regime. But they have lived under it for some 40 years now and they didn't know another life. They can't imagine a freer life, because they have never experienced it.
2. They wouldn't know how to vote and would be able to vote for a man like Stalin!
5. The leaders of Russia want to rule the country and are not interested in the people, but only in their positions and interests.

B. Eastern Europe.

1. Most popular, Poland. Less popular, Yugoslavia, and after the revolution, Czechoslovakia. The Serbs are not liked because of their policy toward the Hungarian minorities. As for the Czechs, they said that the Hungarian revolutionaries were bandits.
2. If free elections would be held in the Eastern European countries, the governments would fall and these countries would free themselves from Communism.
3. Czechoslovakia has the highest living standard, Roumania the lowest.

C. Poland.

- A change happened toward more independence from Moscow. But if real free elections would be held, Gomulka would fall, because he is also a Communist. Gomulka can't succeed. Either he'll have to give Poland her independence or he'll have to step back. If he wants to break away from the Russians, he'll be killed. This present situation can't last too long.
2. I sympathized with the Poles, their attitude created a similar reaction in Hungary, following the events in Poznan.
 4. I didn't know that there was more freedom of expression in Poland since the autumn of 1955.
 5. I approve the revolution the way it happened. The Hungarians solved a problem the Poles never solved. Nobody never thought of the consequences. What will be will be..., as one says, This revolution, even if stopped temporarily, can't be suppressed with terror.

D. Yugoslavia.

1. Tito is a big Communist, who cheats the Americans, the Russians and his own people. I heard that his brother told once that he was nothing but a stupid scoundrel.

He certainly influenced the events in Eastern Europe. In Hungary, Rakosi was probably forced to leave because of him. I don't consider that he was the founder of anything. He didn't found any new ideology.

We thought he would have at least a correct view of the revolution in Hungary. But we saw even better that he is nothing but a Communist, not different from those who are in Moscow. The men in the other Eastern European countries who wanted a more independent policy had nothing to do with Tito, though they were called "Titoists".

Tito must not be very popular. I don't think there is any freedom in Yugoslavia.

E. Asia and Middle-East.

1. The Communists gained control of China by using the proper tactic. The people were fed up with the former regime, and the Communists promised them a lot.

3. China is somewhat more independent than the Eastern European countries. It's a huge country and it is therefore very difficult to control it.

5. No idea about the relations between England and India.

6. I approve the Anglo-French intervention, but this should not have influenced the situation in Hungary. The United Nations could have intervened in both places, and could have forced the Russians to withdraw in Hungary. Instead the UN showed nothing but weakness.

The nationalization of the Suez canal was instigated by the Soviets, not Egypt's government. The French and the British were right in their intervention. They realized that if they retreat all the time, they will be finally pushed out of their own country.

F. West Germany

1. I think West Germany had the highest standard of living in Europe.

2. I didn't know anything about the German Social Democratic Party until now. I heard that they want to gain the power and to declare Germany's neutrality. I don't think this program is very good.

3. The Germans are dangerous when united. Today they are unarmed and divided. And I think they don't want to fight and to be killed for others.

4. West German rearmament is a good and clever thing. They would have a very strong army which will scare the Russians.

5. Both armies took things away from us. But the Germans were more disciplined. From the military point of view, the Russian army was far behind the German. The Russian soldiers are much less courageous. They would be afraid of the new German army, especially if Germany is to be reunited some day.

When the Germans left Hungary, they were not popular. We didn't know the Russians before they came in. Today, after 12 years of occupation, we know.

G. Western Europe.

2. I believe they are more capable than the Conservatives. I don't think that the British Labor Party is leaning toward Communism.

3. Highest living standard, West Germany. Lowest, the Soviet Union.

H. The United States.

1. What surprised me particularly was the wealth of the country, and the fact that one can have everything here. There are also particular customs and ways of life which are different from those of Europe.

2. The US should follow a vigorous foreign policy toward Ex Russia. The US should hit the table and say once for all: "If you don't withdraw, I'll knock you down!" It should not give any loans, not even a penny to Yugoslavia, and to Poland only if that country is near starvation, because the government of those countries is a communist government.

3. The US should ask the United Nations to expulse the Kadar ~~ax~~ "government" from the world organization.

4. Naturally, Hungarians would like to know how people live in the West. They would like to meet foreigners from all walks of life, peasants, workers, etc. I would not tell these visitors anything and would let them see everything by themselves.

5. Naturally, they would like to receive Western books and periodicals.

6. It doesn't matter if exiles are associated with such activities. I think ~~the~~ Hungarians would rather be glad.

7. I don't know the Marshall plan well though I have heard of it.

8. I don't know why America fought in Korea.

I. The American domestic scene.

1.

The only difference I can see so far between the millionaires and the poor men is that the first ones use only articles of luxury. But the others have also most of everything which is available. However there are also poor people here.

In Hungary I thought the standard of living in the US was much higher. One had a kind of mystic conception. Today, I see the reality, but I am far from being dissilusioned.

2. I heard that the American trade unions are very wealthy and that they are not left-wing. I didn't know of them in Hungary.

3. All I can say is that there are still gangsters today.

4. There are differences in the level of the education which must be higher in Europe.

5. During their free time, the Americans make many excursions. But often they ~~do~~ don't use that time very cleverly.

J. The United Nations.

I think the moment the Russians intervned into the Hungarian revolution, the United Nations should have convened and discussed the matter. The world organization could have threatened the Russians with expulsion. It could have sent an army, as an experiment, and this would have involved no danger for the US. I'm sure the Russians would ahve withdrawn.

The UN should continue to keep the Hungarian question on its agenda, because this problem ~~will~~ will always remain very actual.

XVII: KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. In my opinion, the greatest living Hungarian today is Zoltan Kodaly. Before him, the writer Ferenc Herczeg, who died recently.

B. 1.

a. Imre Nagy. Though he was a Communist, he was also a Hungarian patriot.

b. Mindszenty. One of the greatest men in the Church today.

c. Rajk. He deserved his fate.

d. Gerö. An old scoundrel, or rather, the devil.

e. Kadar. Same big rascal.

2. Eisenhower. Does not fit to be a president, maybe not even a general. He's not a politician.

b. Pannarskjold. He is all right, but his hands are tied.

c. Dulles. He is maybe more energetic than the other American politicians. Unfortunately, he can't do much either.

d. Eden. A great politician.

e. Truman. A tramp and a businessman.

3. a. Mikoyan. No opinion.

b. Nehru. I don't know him.

c. Chiang Kai-Shek. No opinion.

d. Ferenc Nagy. If he would have come home, he would have been beaten up.

e. Roosevelt. This scoundrel is responsible for Hungary's fate.

f. Adenauer. A good politician.

g. Stalin. Great politician, created the Soviet empire and ruled it alone. He will be remembered long after Nero.

h. Malenkov. Tried to alleviate the Russian people's conditions.

i. Franco. No opinion.

j. I don't know him. Bevan.

k. Khrushchev. A stupid man.

l. Tito. An opportunistic politician.

m. Peron. I don't know him.

n. Molotov. A typical Communist.

p. Churchill. A very great politician.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. 1. All those who were not found reliable under Communism and who suffered for ten years escaped. Also those who took part in the revolution, those who wanted to escape from Communism. All those who were afraid, and those who wanted some adventures.

The Communists stayed home. Also those who were not willing to abandon their houses and their land. Most of those who came to the West are young people. The old people stayed home, though I also saw a few old people in Austria. A few middle-aged men came out and left their wives at home. Many people came from the border districts, because of the proximity of Austria, and because they knew the border well. Many people came from Budapest, because it is a very large city.

I have high esteem for those who stayed instead of coming out. My sister stayed with her husband, she said she would never leave Hungary.

I think those who remained know that it is better for us to be in the West than in Siberia. But many parents want their children to come back.

B. Hungarian exile organizations and individuals.

1. While in Hungary, I was not aware of such organizations. I knew however that Mr Bela Varga was here, as he came from Bőrös and was related to our family. We knew he was president of the Hungarian national Council, but didn't know the council's activities. We thought he was doing well in America and had money.

3. They probably tried to do something, but without achieving any serious results. In my opinion, they couldn't have done much. Nobody cared about them in Hungary, they ceased to exist from the day they left the country. Nobody thought of them during the revolution. The people were furious to hear that Ferenc Nagy wanted to come home.

C. Yes, I met some people who left the country in 1945 by fear of the Russians. They saw the bad economic conditions in Western Europe and came back. Later they were all sorry for having done it.

I heard of a Hungarian who served in the French Foreign Legion and came home only to be arrested.

The redefection campaign was nothing but political propaganda, to make the Hungarians abroad believe that things were all right in the country. We knew that only the fools came back. They were all arrested. The same fate was reserved to the Hungarians who were repatriated from the Soviet Union.

D. 1. The people in Hungary should know where the exiles are and how they live.

2. They should know what kind of life there is in the West.

3. They should learn the English language and convince the Americans to help Hungary, and also to warn them against Communism.

will

4. Personally, I ~~would~~ learn English and try to study in a university, what I couldn't do at home.

5. I don't want to join any exile organization.

6. As for the various political parties, I see that their ranks here are thin and that they have no support. There is too much quarelling going on, and this situation is odd and comical.

I was pleased to see the various political parties being reorganized after the triumph of the revolution. A satisfactory social order would have come out from the free elections which were to follow.

E. Own plans for the future.

1. I want to back to Hungary, when it will be free of the Russians. And then, without the Russians' armed support, the Communists will be swept away in five minutes.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS NOW TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

1. We listened to VOA, BBC (this was the most objective), Ankara and RFE. This depended on the jamming, which was more or less strong.

We listened every evening, and told the news to our friends. All those who had radios listened to the news, even the Communists.

2. At the beginning, it was dangerous to listen to foreign broadcasts. Often it became an additional crime among those somebody was imprisoned for. In our village, nobody was ever arrested for this.

3. Reaction to the broadcasts.

I had not enough patience to listen to everything. I listened only to the entertaining programs which were fairly good, much better than those of Radio Budapest. But the programs in general didn't say much new. The "Black Book" was excellent. I liked the objectivity of the BBC which didn't give false hopes to the people.

The broadcasts had huge effects in Hungary. The more the Communists forbid the people to listen to them, the more they were listened to. They influenced the Hungarian people, and brought them the truth. They informed them of the foreign news, and tried to educate the people oppressed by Communism.

4. Opinion about RFE. It gave many encouragements and rose many hopes. But it couldn't announce any hope during the revolution. However, the people today probably continue to listen to it.

5. The broadcasts didn't incite the Hungarian people. From their words, we only guessed that some help would come.

6. RFE should continue to broadcast, but it can't help much.

7. Programs. Only news about Hungary that the Hungarians don't know. A few entertainment programs. Something about the workers and the farmers of the West. However, this only embitters the people, who want effective and real help.

B. Leaflets.

1. Never heard of the initials N.E.M.
2. Never heard of the Twelve Demands.

C. 1. I saw many leaflets. Many people were jailed because of them and I can't forgive those who were responsible for that. This is irresponsible. Sometimes the Communists would put a leaflet in somebody's home, then search it and arrest him or fire him from his job.

I found the leaflets in the fields and the yards, since 1954. They came practically every month, depending on the wind. Once a small transmitter with a red parachute fell into our yard, and we handed them over to the police.

I showed the leaflets to my close friends. Some collected them.

3. Someone who stuck such leaflets was condemned to 2 years imprisonment. Maybe there were also other accusations. Under the pretext that one was hiding leaflets, the police could enter any home.

4. In my opinion, leaflets are not good. They are inciting, and involve a lot of risk, especially when no assistance is coming with the leaflets. It's a dirty work.

5. FEC should stop dropping leaflets, and shut its mouth a little more.

D. I think the leaflet were meant to spread Western propaganda. The aim of the broadcasts was to reveal the truth the Communists were hiding, to explain the reality, and also for propaganda purposes.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. A child should be taught to respect the adults, to be well-behaved, obedient, ~~xxxxxx~~ diligent, religious, to be strong morally and physically.

2. A child must be disciplined. If he disobeys, and the doesn't obey the second time, he must be punished. Physical punishment should be used. Everything can't explained to the child with words. Until a certain age (6-?) I would make no differences between girls and boys.

3. I was punished often at home. I had to stay on my knees in the corner, on the floor or on corn. At school, we had to kneel on the edge of the bench.

When I was 5 or 6 years old, I remember climbing on the top of the cup-board and ~~xxxxxx~~ breaking all plates and cups.

Our father used to punish us.

4. Among the people I knew the father punished the children. After the age of 7-8, the mothers couldn't do it in any case. This depended on the moment one went to school. There were no changes in this during the last ten years,

Among the intellectuals the child was pampered too often. The peasants gave a firm education to their children. The workers would sometimes began other methods..

5. Physical punishment was abandoned at the age of 10-12. The girls, who did less pranks, were not often punished.

Punishment in general was abandoned at the age of 17.

Communism brought changes along at school and among the workers. They said it was wrong to inflict physical punishment on the children. The result was that when the child was 10, the parents had no authority on him, and the child didn't obey to anybody.

6. The education was strict in the benedictines' school, but those who came out of it were men. In the other schools, physical punishment was abandoned ~~xxxxxx~~ under Communism. The children didn't do their homework, often left the school without knowing how to add or subtract. The pupils didn't obey their teachers. My sister used to be a teacher and she told me often how the children lied and were insolent. Some teachers would slap the children, but ran the risk to have many troubles with some parents.

7. Two friends must understand each other, and in time of need, to help each other selflessly.

My friends were not turn-coats. Those who unmask this question must remember also that friendship can undergo many changes independently from Communism.